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THE OTTAWA EMPLOYMENT PROJECT

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EMPLOYMENT POOL

Under Contract to
PLANNING AND RESEARCH BRANCH



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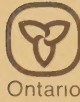
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AUGUST, 1981



MINISTRY OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

PLANNING AND SUPPORT SERVICES DIVISION

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ISBN 0-7743-6277-4

Acknowledgements

Government
Publications

CA24N


R135

-81472

D. A. Andrews and Archie Hurge would like to thank Area Managers Braithwaite and Jackson for their at times cautious but always present support during the first year of the evaluation of the Project. We similarly thank the professionals and the support staff in the Ottawa offices. The efforts of the volunteers were crucial in the operation of the Project and their feedback on record-keeping and research procedures was a great assistance. Thanks Mina! Dr. Fran Smyth was a consultant in Psychology to the Ottawa offices during the early months of the research effort and made substantial contributions to some crucial management and operational alterations within the Ottawa program. The Social Skill Training component was contributed by Dr. Smyth and some of her clinical insights were incorporated directly into the SBRC forms. Thanks to the clients who agreed to involvement in the Employment Pool research. Renner's (1978) survey proved very useful in the design of the Project's record-keeping system. Special thanks to Joni Walker, Jennifer Jordan, Wendy Watkins and Susan Mickus.

For all involved, the past 18 months with the Ottawa Employment Pool Project has provided some of the most satisfying and some of the most frustrating of times. What appeared to be a sophisticated and yet really quite straightforward evaluation of an on-going program proved to be an exercise in program development, implementation and operations. In addition, it has awakened the need for a serious review of the basic assumptions underlying the traditional concern in corrections for the employment status of its clients. It is the hope of all concerned with the Ottawa program and its evaluation that our experiences, our thinking about the issues, and our data may assist others in developing and offering high-level professional service to clients with employment problems.





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Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgements	i
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	v
Administrative Abstract	vii
Introduction	1
Method	3
Results	9
I The Effects of Social Skill Training	9
II The Correlates of a Stable Employment Record and the Predictors of Sixth Month Outcomes	14
III Exploring the Functional Significance of Improved Vocational Status	18
Discussion	21
Tables	23
References	31

List of Tables

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Sixth Month Outcomes by Participation in Social Skill Training	21
2	The Association Between Social Skill Training and Vocational Outcome With and Without Statistical Controls for Pretest Factors	22
3	Some Personal History and Current Situational-Motivational Factors Which Related to Stability of Prior Employment and/or to Positive Vocational Outcomes at Sixth Month Follow-up	23
4	Additional Personal and Situational-Motivational Factors Which Related to Stability of Prior Employment and/or to Positive Vocational Outcomes at Sixth Month Follow-up: Means and SD's	24
5	Pretested Attitudes and Personality in Relation to Stability of Employment History	25
6	Pretested Orientation Toward the Rewards and Costs Associated with Criminal <u>versus</u> Conventional Life-styles by Stability of Prior Employment	26
7	Mean Changes in Attitudes and Situations by Vocational Status at Six Months ($p < .10$).	27
8	Correctional Outcomes by Improved Vocational Status and Employment History	28

ADMINISTRATIVE ABSTRACT

The Employment Pool Project was initiated in the Ottawa Probation and Parole office in July, 1974. An early emphasis on job placement later shifted to short-term assessment, counselling, and referrals to job possibilities or vocational programs. An adjunct to the regular Pool services was vocationally-relevant Social Skill Training, a structured group exercise designed to accommodate six to eight clients in four two-hour sessions over a one-week period. Staffing for the Ottawa Pool Project consisted of citizen volunteers under the direction of one professional Probation/Parole Officer.

Although the association between employment status and community adjustment is well documented, few studies have demonstrated a functional relationship between these two variables. It is not clear whether employment status influences community adjustment, or whether motivation level is the critical factor. Nor is it understood whether programmed efforts can influence either employment status or subsequent recidivism. This study explored these issues which are of primary importance in decisions to provide employment services to offenders.

The original design proposed random assignment of probationers to three conditions, but because of an unwillingness of staff to withhold services available, the design that was implemented was pseudo-experimental. Although caution must be exercised when interpreting non-experimental data, statistical controls were employed for pre-tested client factors to increase confidence in any conclusions reached.

Three groups of probationers were compared:

- 1) 26 unemployed probationers who received regular probation supervision but were not referred to the Employment Pool.
- 2) 79 unemployed probationers who received Pool services (assessment, counselling and referrals).
- 3) 21 unemployed probationers who received Pool services in combination with Social Skill Training.

FINDINGS

Improved Vocational Status

Improved vocational status, defined as either employment or participation in a vocational program, was found to be associated with increased anticriminal sentiments, increased sensitivity to conventional rules, and decreased perception of limited opportunity. Improved vocational status was also associated with an increased awareness of the costs associated with a "straight" life, and some devaluation of the rewards associated with a "straight" life. The implications of this latter finding remain to be explored.

Pool versus Non-Pool Services

There was no evidence that the Employment Pool services with no social skills training were any more effective than regular probation supervision. Approximately 55% of the probationers in both of these groups had positive vocational outcomes.

Social Skills versus No Social Skills Training

Participation in social skills training was associated with an improved situation at the sixth month, most notably among probationers under 19 years of age. Confidence in this conclusion is somewhat weakened by the small sub-sample. Nevertheless, this finding is supported by logical rationale: persons under 19 years of age can be expected to demonstrate greater deficiencies than older persons in terms of job search skills due to their immaturity and inexperience.

Social skills training did not increase the stability of vocational status, measured by number of days employed or in a vocational program. Nor did it increase the participant's rating of vocational rewards. There was some evidence that social skill training participants increased their awareness of "appropriate responses to conflict", but little evidence of generalization of this learning to situations not rehearsed during training. It appears the training had a slight effect, but the treatment efforts need to be strengthened.

Prior Employment and Its Correlates

Probationers with unstable employment records (unemployed 50% or more of the last 12 months) versus stable records were less prepared educationally for employment, presented vocationally specific liabilities and fewer vocational strengths, were less satisfied with their last jobs and presented specific job search skill deficits. They were also found to be more procriminal in their attitudes, and appeared to be particularly attracted to the rewards unique to crime and particularly insensitive to the costs associated with crime. This suggests an element of "chosen joblessness".

An interesting finding was that official indicators of a criminal record (juvenile, adult incarceration) were unrelated to stability of prior employment, although self-reported criminal activities were slightly higher among the unstable group. Also not associated with stability of prior employment were perceived rewards and costs associated with a "straight" lifestyle. Nor did the unemployed with unstable work records report particularly high levels of tension and anxiety or low levels of self-esteem.

Correctional Outcome Measures

An improved vocational status was related to an assessment of successful outcome by probation officers. However, no differences in official or self-reported criminal activities were evident among the three groups at the sixth month.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study, though subject to caution, suggest two conditions under which employment services might be expected to be effective. The first is that employment programs should include a job-search skills component. It appears that an employment program which only offers assessment, counselling and referral services is no more effective than the non-programmed efforts of probation officers.

Second, the target population for employment-oriented services should probably be the youngest, most problematic offenders. In the present study, social skills training was only related to an improved vocational status among offenders under 19 years of age who are usually those who present the most serious problems in terms of job placement.

Efforts should be made towards increasing stability of vocational status and increasing satisfaction with vocational rewards. In this study, stability of vocational status was not effected by the Social Skills Training. Moreover, reality of employment increased offenders' awareness of the costs associated with a "straight" life.

The cost benefits of an Employment Pool were not addressed by this research. In spite of the finding that non-programmed efforts of probation officers are just as effective as Employment Pool services, it is possible that there may be cost benefits to be achieved in providing volunteer run employment services.

INTRODUCTION

The interim report on the Ottawa Employment Project documented some solid theoretical, research and practical grounds for employment-oriented efforts in corrections (Andrews et al., 1980, Parts II, III, IV). However, it was equally clear that a number of important issues remained under-explored. Most notably, there continued to be few studies which demonstrated in a convincing manner that programmed efforts aimed at influencing the employment status of convicted offenders influence either employment status or subsequent recidivism. There appears to be some agreement in the literature and among practitioners that any employment-oriented efforts which hoped to be successful would incorporate services aimed at dealing with deficits in the areas of work skills, job-search skills and job-maintenance skills. This evaluation of the Ottawa Employment Pool Project includes comparisons of a centralized employment counselling service for probationers with and without the additional services of Vocationally-Relevant Social Skill Training. A comparison group of unemployed probationers who were in the labour market but not referred to the centralized employment facility is also included. Because of the intensive work required in the development of the Pool services prior to the initiation of the formal evaluation of services and the subsequent unwillingness of staff to withhold services once services were structured, this evaluation was pseudo-experimental with statistical controls introduced for those pre-tested client factors which reasonably might have accounted for outcome. In addition, attention was paid to counselling process and to the measurement of short-term impact in order to strengthen any conclusions reached. Outcome measures included an improved vocational situation at six months, ratings of the rewards and satisfactions associated with employment, probationers' satisfactions with Pool services, and three indicators of correctional outcomes (recidivism, official and self-reported, and PPO ratings of the success of supervision).

Part II of the Results section focuses on an additional issue regarding the employment factor and criminality. The ability of employment factors to distinguish between offender and nonoffender groups is well-known. Similarly, the ability of employment history to predict recidivism is widely recognized. What is less well-understood is where employment history and current employment situation might be located in the whole network of attributes of correctional clients and their situations which theory and research suggest share important relationships with criminal behaviour. Part II of the report examines the personal and situational correlates of a stable versus unstable employment history and the personal and situational predictors of movement out of a situation of unemployment into employment or other vocational endeavours such as upgrading.

Part III of the Results section explores what is perhaps the most crucial issue regarding the role of the employment factor in correctional services. Specifically, to what extent is movement from the unemployed

situation to an improved vocational situation associated with changes in other important attributes of clients and their situations? As suggested in the interim report, the importance of employment exists in the possibility that improved employment situations may produce reduced recidivism, either directly or by way of altering other attributes of clients and their situations which in turn are associated with reduced recidivism. A feature of the analysis presented in Part III of the report is the examination of the apparent effects of improvements in vocational situations with employment history controlled.

METHOD

The Probationers

The Ottawa PPOs formally referred 263 probationers to the Pool during the research intake period. Of these, only 180 actually made contact with the Pool staff. Those probationers not keeping any appointments with Pool staff were tending (Tau) to fall in the following categories: women ($p < .07$), juvenile record ($p < .07$), shorter sentences ($p < .06$), authority problems according to PPO's ratings ($p < .06$), and under parental pressure to find work ($p < .06$). Of the 180, 100 agreed to participate in the research component and to complete the various paper and pencil tests and interviews. (Mid-way through the Project we were able to offer an incentive and "thank you" of \$10.00 for participation.) Of the 100 research cases, 73 were successfully contacted and retested at six months. Of the 27 without retesting, 14 had been transferred to another region or had left town following termination; seven were incarcerated, officially "at large", or simply could not be contacted; and six refused outright or missed five retest appointments. Twenty-six additional probationers were drawn from the progress report sample of the current SSHRC project (Andrews & Kiessling, 1979). These 26 probationers were in the labour market, but unemployed and for whatever reasons had not been referred to the Pool.

A brief description of the subsamples is provided below:

	Total Referrals	Total Contacting Pool	Total in Research Sample	Total With Retesting	Non-Pool Comparison Group
N	263	180	100	73	26
Prop. Male	.87	.89	.90	.88	.74
Mean Age	21.61	21.54	20.86	21.00	18.34
(SD)	(6.24)	(6.35)	(6.20)	(6.02)	(2.14)

Other characteristics of the probationers will become evident as the results are presented (in particular see Table 3).

The treatment groups were as follows: the Non-Pool Comparison Group (n=26), the Pool cases who participated in Vocationally-Relevant Social Skill Training (n=21) and those Pool cases who received the regular services of the Pool without skill training (n=79). The latter subgroup included 15 cases who were offered social skill training but declined the offer. All cases referred to the Pool over those periods

when training groups were being formed were offered training. The only exceptions were those probationers who possessed obvious work skills and were judged ready for immediate job placement and not in need of social skill training. Unavailability at retest was unrelated to participation in skill training: 23% lost from the nonparticipant Pool group and 28% lost from the skill training group.

The Pool Program

The Employment Pool Project was initiated in the Ottawa Probation and Parole office in July, 1974. In the early years the emphasis was on job placement but as the research component was being planned and implemented, there was a shift in emphasis and procedures. The shift was away from a reliance on job placement to short-term and more structured assessment and counselling. Following assessment, clients were referred to either job possibilities or to external, community-based vocational programs. Key judgments in the assessment and counselling process involved the presence or absence of work skills appropriate to the job market, the degree of motivation for self-improvement in vocationally-relevant areas, and the client's levels of job-search and job-maintenance skills. Part VI of the interim report includes a full program description by the Director of the Pool.

Vocationally-Relevant Social Skill Training, a package developed by then Consultant Psychologist Fran Smyth and described fully in the interim report, was designed to accommodate six to eight clients in four two-hour sessions over a period of a week. The targets included a personal survey of marketable skills, preparation for job interviews, appropriate behaviour during job interviews, and appropriately assertive means of handling problems on the job. Specific counselling techniques included modeling (live and on video-tape), role-playing and rehearsal, and direct verbal suggestions and directions.

Measurement Procedures

The measures of clients and their situations, of intervention process and of outcomes were collected in a number of ways and from a variety of sources. The forms developed for the Project were appended to the interim report.

The Officer Referral Form included some basic and self-explanatory bio-social information on clients. Included on the Referral Form were a series of 13 five-point rating scales reflecting the seriousness of problems in adjustment areas such as family, friends and accommodation (Renner, 1979).

The Intake Form completed by Pool staff included additional basic bio-social and employment information. Two indices were of particular interest. One was the Renner (1979) characterization of stability of employment history with the guideline that "frequently unemployed" referred to being employed less than 50% of the time over a minimum period of 12 months in the labour market. The other measure requiring comment was the Vocational Rewards Rating based on the LSI Employment/School ratings (Andrews, 1980). Following a semi-structured series of questions regarding the probationer's last job, ratings of the levels of rewards and satisfactions were completed for each of performance on the job, relationship with the boss and relationship with fellow workers. The ratings varied from "0" (a punishing, hostile situation) to "3" (a highly-rewarding, satisfying situation). "Vocational Rewards Rating" was the sum of the three ratings.

The Vocational Assessment Form completed by Pool staff after the first or second meeting with the client yielded four indices of job-search skills. "Relevant Information For Job Hunt" was the number of different pieces of information the client carried with him/her on a job hunt: years in school, courses completed, date of graduation, SIN, title of last position, dates for last period of employment, pay, references (previous employer), references (teachers), references (other professionals), references (other).

"Job Skill Knowledge" was the sum of positive answers to questions regarding the client's knowledge of what a resumé is (no (0) - yes (1)); the client's ability to identify marketable skills from previous employment (no - yes) and from hobbies (no - yes); the expression of job preferences; the client freely offering information about self; the client's insight regarding previous employment difficulties.

"Job Hunt Efforts" was the sum of the following: number of letters of application sent out in last four weeks; number of telephone calls regarding job possibilities; number of resumé's sent out; number of job interviews.

The "Presentation of Self" measure was the sum of ratings on each of grooming, posture, eye contact, clarity of speech and volume of speech. A poor rating on any item was assigned a value of "1", an average rating or value of "2" and a good rating or value of "3". The Presentation of Self Ratings were to be completed by Pool staff on a second occasion four weeks after the client's entry into the Pool.

The routine record keeping within the Pool included records of number of contacts with clients, of program and job referrals, follow-ups on the actions taken by the client upon receipt of a referral, and the results of the action. Four weeks following Pool entry, the research cases and the volunteers responsible for them were asked to complete the Andrews and Kiessling (1979) version of the Mehaffey Relationship Questionnaire. The Questionnaire yields measures of the client's and the staff's personal perceptions of the quality of their relationship, the amount of real help and assistance received (or offered) and the

amount of direction imposed by the staff person.

The research cases completed an interview and testing session with the research assistant early upon entry into the Pool and again six months later. The paper and pencil measures were as follows (Andrews and Kiessling, 1979):

Criminal Sentiments

Law, Courts, Police
Tolerance for Law Violations
Identification With Criminal Others

Social Support for Crime

Ties to Offenders
Access to Criminal Models and Resources

Sense of Personal/Social Power

Awareness of Limited Opportunity
Self-Esteem
Anxiety (Bendig)

Conventional Success Orientation

Value Education
Value Employment

Conventional Sensitivities

to Rules: Socialization (Gough)
to Persons: Empathy (Hogan)

Personality Dimensions of Delinquency

Psychopathy
Neuroticism
Inadequacy/Immaturity
Scholastic Maladjustment
Family Dissension

Following Harris (1975), the research interviews yielded scores (on a ten-point scale) for the value placed upon the rewards which might be delivered by a "straight" lifestyle and by a "criminal" lifestyle. Similarly, ratings were obtained regarding how unhappy the client would be with the costs which might be associated with a straight and a criminal lifestyle. Respondents were also asked to estimate the chances that the possible rewards and costs would actually be delivered for the straight and criminal alternatives.

The Vocational Rewards Rating was completed at the six month research interview with regards to the client's current vocational situation (work, school or vocational upgrading). Additional measures derived from the research interview included rating chances of "going straight", chances of arrest if a violation occurs, chances of conviction and chances of a prison sentence. Finally, the self-reported measures of criminal activity during the last six months were collected (Andrews and Kiessling, 1979).

During those periods when Social Skill Training groups were being formed, incoming research cases were also administered the Job Situations Inventory, a measure developed for this project with the cooperation of Fran Smyth. The Job Situations Inventory was readministered within two weeks of the last Training sessions. The Inventory is composed of 10 different situations with three different response alternatives per situation. The situations surveyed represent actual problems which can arise during an interview or when someone is working, such as being late for work, needing time off, handling a criminal record, etc. For each situation, subjects are required to rate each response alternative from "Very Good" to "Very Poor" on a five-point scale, the situation and responses being randomly presented. Of the response alternatives, one is appropriate (assertive), one is underassertive, and one is aggressive (over-assertive). For each subject a mean assertive score, a mean under-assertive score, and a mean aggressive score is computed. The final score is the mean rating assigned appropriate responses minus the mean ratings assigned the under- and the over-assertive responses. The greater the difference score, the greater the relative preferences for appropriate responses. Four of the situations in the Inventory were actually employed in the Training sessions while six represented new, or generalization situations for the Training participants.

A Probation Termination-Outcome Form completed by referring PPOs included the Renner (1979) measure of success of supervision and a request for information on any reconvictions. Probationers' levels of satisfaction with Pool services were assessed by ratings on a five-point satisfaction scale and by a direct question during the six-month interview regarding whether they had gained anything from the Pool.

RESULTS

1. The Effects of Social Skill Training

Positive vocational outcome at the time of the six month follow-up interview was defined as being employed or enrolled in a vocational upgrading or academic program. The proportion of probationers presenting positive vocational outcomes at six months were .54 (n=26) within the non-Pool comparison group and .56 (n=58) within the Pool group which did not participate in social skill training. Since there was no evidence that access to the regular Pool services was associated with positive vocational outcome, the two groups not involved in social skill training were combined where possible for purposes of comparisons with the skill-training participants.

Table 1 presents the six month outcome data for the skill-training participants and nonparticipants. Participation in social skill training was associated with positive vocational outcomes ($p < .05$) and high levels of consumer satisfaction on the dichotomous "gain" measure ($p < .01$) and on the satisfaction rating ($p < .05$). However, there was no evidence that participation in skill training was associated with positive correctional outcomes as they defined in terms of success ratings by PPOs, officially recorded reconvictions or self-reported criminal activity.

Because more of the social skill training participants were employed or enrolled in vocational programs by the time of the six month interview, it is notable that ratings of the rewards and satisfactions associated with one's vocational situation did not distinguish between participants and nonparticipants. Supplementary analyses confirmed that the participants and nonparticipants did not differ on mean number of days employed, mean number of days in a vocational program or even mean dollars earned from employment over the six month period. In fact, the nonsignificant tendency was for participants to have held a greater mean number of different jobs during the follow-up period than did the nonparticipants. It appears that social skill training increased the probability of one being employed or in a vocational program but neither increased the stability of one's vocational status nor even the reward levels associated with one's vocational situation. In theory and research, stability of employment and satisfaction with employment are more crucial factors than the mere fact of obtaining a job (see our interim report and Rogers, 1980).

There was additional evidence that the apparently improved vocational situation of social skill-training participants was something less than that which would be desired for maximum impact on correctional objectives. Six month changes on the attitude, situation and personality measures were examined in relation to participation in skill training and only one effect emerged. The research interviews (pre and post)

included a structured series of questions and ratings regarding the probationers' perceptions of the rewards and costs associated with each of a "straight" lifestyle and a "criminal" lifestyle. The skill-training participants and the nonparticipants did not differ on mean changes in the perceived rewards and costs associated with a criminal lifestyle or even on the rewards associated with a straight life. Rather, relative to the nonparticipants, the participants presented a large mean increase in their ratings of the costs associated with a "straight" lifestyle, $-.07$ (nonparticipants) versus $.13$ (participants), $F(1/69) = 7.52$, $p < .008$. It appears that those who received social skill training were encouraged to enter the legitimate opportunity structure but upon entry were confronted with the realities of low pay, regular hours, legitimate "hustle", the need to conform to the expectations of others, and, we expect, boredom.

Differential treatment effects and some attempts to discount the apparent effect of social skill training. Two issues demanded that the apparent association between skill training and improved vocational status at six months be explored in more detail. One issue was the obvious one that, in the absence of random assignment, pretested differences between the participants and nonparticipants might account for the effect. The other issue was the possibility, developed in our interim report, that employment-oriented services might be more effective with some types of clients than with others. The latter issue, that of differential treatment, was explored by introducing pretested client characteristics as factors along with social skill participation in a series of analyses of variance in the six month positive vocational outcome measure (employed or in a vocational program). The former issue was explored by introducing pretested client characteristics as covariates in the analyses of variance in six month outcome and looking for reductions in the apparent association between skill training and outcome. Multiple Classification Analysis (Kim & Kohout, 1975) allows such direct inspections and, in brief, the effect of social skill training could not be discounted by introducing statistical controls for pretest measures (see Table 2).

The exploration of a differential treatment effect revealed an interaction ($p < .04$) between client age and social skill training on employment status at six months. Among the Pool probationers aged 19 years or older, there was no evidence that skill training was associated with vocational outcome: the proportion of older probationers employed or in a vocational program was $.59$ for both the participant and nonparticipant groups. Among the younger Pool probationers there was a large difference in the six month vocational status of participants and nonparticipants, $.81$ employed or in a program versus $.36$, $\text{Eta} = .42$, $p < .01$. It is noteworthy that the effects of social skill training were most evident among the younger clients since the young within correctional samples are known on average, to be the more strongly tied to crime, more weakly tied to convention, and to present serious difficulties in terms of job placement. The suggestion is that those clients who will profit most from intensive employment-oriented services are those who present the more serious employment-related problems.

Additional attempts to discount the effects of social skill training by exploration of counselling process. While controls for pre-tested client characteristics failed to discount the training effects, there was the possibility that skill-training participants received additional special treatment from Pool staff. We do not imply here that the results were in any sense "fixed". Rather, it would not at all be unusual for clients who are participating in special programs to also receive some preferred treatment from program staff. In fact, there was no difference between skill-training participants and nonparticipants in terms of the mean number of staff-initiated contacts over the first two months following referral to the Pool, 3.52 versus 3.20, $F < 1.00$. Nor was there any difference in the mean number of referrals for job placement made by Pool staff on behalf of the participants and nonparticipants, 1.62 versus 2.61, $F = 1.19$. Client reports on the Relationship, Helping and Authority subscales of the Relationship Questionnaire revealed no differences between the participants and nonparticipants in terms of perceived quality of service received during the first two months (all p 's $> .30$). However, staff reports on the Relationship Questionnaire did reveal differences in their perceptions of the quality of services delivered: according to Pool staff, they achieved higher quality interpersonal relationships ($p < .02$) and higher levels of helping ($p < .006$) with members of the skill-training groups. None of the above-noted measures of counselling process were related to vocational outcome at the sixth month.

One objective difference in the way in which Pool staff dealt with participants and nonparticipants was evident. Probationers who participated in skill training received a greater mean number of referrals to vocational programs than did the nonparticipants, 1.71 versus 0.88, $F = 15.73$, $p < .001$. It was the strong impression of the principal investigator, gained from informal discussions with Pool staff, that the skill-training component of the Pool services came to be viewed as an important assessment tool. If probationers completed social skill training, then Project staff felt they had solid evidence that there was motivation for self-improvement and this evidence was used in the advocacy efforts required for clients to gain entry into vocational programs. Rather than discounting the effect of social skill training, this diagnostic function of social skill training appears to add weight to the arguments in its favour. Finally, as reported below, it was not the simple number of referrals to programs which predicted sixth month outcome but the fact of whether clients acted upon referrals from the Pool.

Exploring the short-term impact of social skill training. Confidence in the effectiveness of social skill training would increase if effects were found on measures which sampled directly the content of training and even more so, if those short-term impact measures related to success at six months. The skill-training sessions included components regarding dress and other aspects of presentation of self but there was no evidence that participants and nonparticipants differed on mean Presentation of Self ($F < 1.00$) following training. However, neither was there any evidence that Presentation of Self related to outcome at six months.

The sessions also included direct training (modeling and role-playing) in appropriate means of handling interpersonal conflict in job situations. The participants showed a greater mean posttested preference for the appropriate responses to conflict than did the nonparticipants on the Job Situations Inventory ($p < .06$). Moreover, the effect was limited to those situations in which the participants had received direct training with little evidence of generalization to situations not rehearsed during training. The lack of generalization suggests that the treatment could have been stronger but the specificity of the effect also supports the position that actual receipt of training was more important than simply being motivated to participate in training. If it were a simple motivation effect, then the effect should also have been found on the generalization items. Most importantly, increased preference for the more appropriate responses on the Inventory was tending to be associated with success at six months ($p < .11$).

A third and major component of training was the review and rehearsal of specific techniques to be employed to uncover job leads and in acting upon job leads. The participants acted upon a greater proportion of the leads they received from Pool staff than did the nonparticipants, $.54$ versus $.35$, $F = 3.89$, $p < .05$. Importantly, it was not the number of leads or referrals from Pool staff which predicted outcome at six months but the clients' actions upon receipt of referrals ($\eta^2 = .34$, $p < .01$).

Summary of Part I

Threats to the validity of conclusions drawn from pseudo-experimental investigations are always present but a number of steps were taken to increase confidence in any conclusions reached. Essentially what we tried to do was to empirically discount the apparent fact that participation in vocationally-relevant social skill training was associated with improved vocational status at the six month follow-up:

- a) statistical controls were introduced for a number of pretested client factors which were known to be associated with assignment to treatment conditions and/or to outcome and the effects of skill training could not be discounted;
- b) extra-training differences in counselling process were reviewed and there was no evidence that any preferred treatment of skill-training participants by Pool staff could account for the apparent effect of training;
- c) coherent empirical links existed between certain specific components of social skill training and conceptually-related measures of short-term impact;
- d) those training-specific measures of short-term impact were in one case mildly related to vocational outcome at six months (Job Situations Inventory, $p < .11$) and in the other case strongly related to six month outcome (engaging in appropriate job-search actions, $p < .01$); and

- e) the effects of social skill training were not evident among the "easy" cases but rather among those probationers, the youngest ones, who presented the most serious employment-related problems.

Reasonable conclusions to be drawn from this non-experimental evaluation of the Ottawa program include the following:

- a) the centralized employment counselling services, in the absence of social skill training, were no more effective than the non-programmed efforts of individual clients and their officers;
- b) participation in vocationally-relevant social skill training increased the probability that probationers would become employed or enrolled in vocational programs, and was associated with high levels of satisfaction with Pool services;
- c) the increased likelihood of gaining entry into the legitimate opportunity structure was most evident among the younger probationers (those most in need of employment-related services);
- d) in the absence of increased stability in a probationer's vocational situation and in the absence of a personally-rewarding vocational situation, there was no evidence of impact of skill training on correctional outcome — we don't know what the impact on correctional outcomes would have been had stability and satisfaction been greater;
- e) in the absence of stable and personally-rewarding vocational outcomes, probationers received greater exposure to the personal costs associated with a noncriminal lifestyle than to the personal rewards which might accrue; and,
- f) a priority objective for future employment-related projects should be the development of means of increasing the stability of employment and the rewards associated with employment as opposed to simply influencing the probability of obtaining a job or a vocationally-relevant placement.

11. The Correlates of a Stable Employment Record and the Predictors of Sixth Month Vocational Outcome

The interim report suggested, with some empirical support, that employment problems were likely one part of a network of intercorrelated attributes of probationers and their situations which might be relevant to correctional programming and correctional outcomes. There is now considerable evidence that stability of prior employment is a major predictor of recidivism but how stability might relate to other attributes of correctional clients has been under-explored. In this section of the paper, the correlations between stability of employment and various bio-social, situational, attitudinal and personality indices are reported.

Some Correlates

Table 3 presents the correlations between various dichotomous variables derived from the referral and assessment forms and stability of work history. Those cases who were just entering the labour market were not included in the unstable-stable categories. Table 4 presents similar information except that the differences between the stable and nonstable groups were tested by analysis of variance techniques rather than the Tau measure of association which was employed in Table 3.

Inspection of the stability portions of Tables 3 and 4 reveals just what our interim reviews of the research literature and theory had led us to expect. Relative to those offenders referred to the Pool with unstable work histories, those with a stable history were better educated ($p < .05$); possessed greater vocational strengths ($p < .01$) and fewer vocational liabilities ($p < .01$) as assessed by the Project's volunteers; presented fewer serious problems ($p < .01$) across the range of problem areas reported upon by PPOs at time of referral; and, scored higher on the three job-search skill scales derived from the assessments conducted by Pool staff (Job Skill Knowledge, $p < .01$; Presentation of Self, $p < .01$; Relevant Information For Job Hunt, $p < .05$). The job-search skill scales derived from the assessments of volunteers functioned much better than the more formally derived Job Situations Inventory.

Perhaps most important simply in terms of the validity of the stable-unstable categorization, were the findings that stable and unstable employment groups differed significantly on various measures of their last job. The more stable cases had held their last job for a longer period of time ($p < .01$), tended to be in higher-level positions ($p < .05$) and reported much higher levels of reward and satisfaction associated with that employment ($p < .01$). In fact, the Vocational Rewards Rating based on activities and relationships with boss and fellow-

workers, was the strongest correlate of stability of employment in our whole battery of measures.

Stability of employment related in reasonable ways to current sources of income. Those with a stable employment record would be more likely to be eligible for unemployment insurance and more of them were in receipt of such payments ($p < .05$). On the other hand, those with unstable employment records were more likely to be in receipt of welfare ($p < .05$).

The stable history group included a greater proportion of men ($p < .05$) and was tending to be older on average ($p < .10$). Various official indicators of a criminal record were unrelated to stability of prior employment, including having a juvenile record, being an adult recidivist, and having been incarcerated. However, mean number of self-reported criminal acts during the preceding six months was greater within the unstable group, 13.11 (Unstable) versus 8.45 (Stable), $F(1/94) = 3.48$, $p < .06$.

Table 5 presents the means and standard deviations for the stable and unstable groups on pretest measures derived from the self-report paper and pencil questionnaire battery. Note that the n 's may vary slightly from scale-to-scale because of errors in administration or selective referrals and because, where possible, we combined the Pool sample with the sample of unemployed probationers who had not been referred to the Pool. As a group, the more stable workers were less procriminal in their attitudes, more sensitive to conventional rules and procedures, more sensitive to the wishes, feelings and expectations of others, less alienated in terms of their awareness of legitimate opportunities, and scored lower on a measure of aggressive-psychopathic tendencies. There was no evidence that the less stable workers experienced more anxiety and tension than the more stable workers, but the nonsignificant trends ($p < .10$) were toward lower self-esteem, less positive attitudes toward employment and education, and histories of trouble at home and in school.

Table 6 presents some comparisons of the stable and unstable groups on a set of measures derived from the structured interview. Recall that the respondent was asked to consider the consequences associated with adopting a criminal and a noncriminal lifestyle. The respondent was asked to rate how "happy" he/she would be if the rewarding consequences were delivered and how "unhappy" he/she would be if the costly consequences were delivered. The respondent was then asked what the chances were that the consequences would be delivered. The interesting findings in Table 6 are that the perceived rewards and costs associated with a noncriminal lifestyle were independent of stability of previous employment. The differences occurred on the ratings regarding a criminal lifestyle. Those with a stable employment history tended to value the rewards associated with crime less than did the unstable workers ($p < .08$) and tended to perceive less chance of those rewards actually being delivered by crime ($p < .05$). The more stable workers were also more unhappy with the potential costs of crime ($p < .05$). The validity of these indices is still under investigation but the pattern of results suggests that those unemployed probationers with unstable employment records find the criminal

lifestyle more attractive as opposed to finding noncriminal alternatives less attractive. The suggestion is that of "chosen joblessness" (Marks and Glaser, 1980).

Summary of the Correlates of a Stable Employment History. As correctional experience and our interim reviews of the literature would lead one to expect, stability of prior employment is a factor with a variety of correlates which appear highly relevant to the chances of achieving meaningful changes in the vocational status of unemployed probationers and to the possibility of achieving reduced chances of recidivism. The attributes and situations found to be associated with an unstable employment history read like a list of predictors of recidivism: low levels of educational achievement, employment experiences in low-level jobs which were less than personally satisfying, favourable attitudes toward crime, generalized insensitivity to conventional rules including more previous criminal activity (self-reported), specific deficits in job-search skills, an orientation toward a criminal lifestyle which places specific value on those rewards relatively unique to crime and devalues those potential costs specific to crime. From the point of view of vocationally-relevant programming for unemployed probationers, two factors are outstanding from this review of correlates: one, any program will be serving a significant proportion of clients with serious personal and situational problems; two, the Pool staff were able, in brief assessment interviews, to collect vocationally-relevant information which related in reasonable ways to stability of employment history. The latter suggests that staff judgments (volunteer and professional) on matters such as particular strengths and liabilities and the assessment of job-search skills possessed considerable validity.

The Predictors of Positive Vocational Outcome at Six Months

A positive vocational outcome was defined as being employed or registered in a vocationally-relevant program at the time of the six month follow-up interview. Reinspection of Tables 3 and 4 reveals that the major correlates of a stable employment history generally did not predict positive vocational outcome to a statistically reliable degree. In fact, stability of prior employment was itself an unreliable predictor of sixth month success ($p < .18$) among the Pool cases. While level of last job and days on last job were approaching conventional levels of statistical significance in relation to positive outcome, the presence of specific vocational strengths or liabilities were utterly independent of success at six months. Not one of the pretested paper and pencil measures or measures from the research interview related to successful vocational outcome. We are forced to consider the possibility that the Pool's efforts had the effect of disrupting or destroying the expected predictive validity of the referral and pretest information. Such would be possible and a positive phenomenon if the Pool staff engaged in differential treatment according to the apparent status and needs of individual clients.

The available evidence is that the Pool staff did engage in highly reasonable levels of differential treatment. Clients who presented a stable work history were tending to receive job referrals from the Pool ($\text{Tau} = .15$, $p < .10$) while those with unstable records were receiving referrals to vocational programs ($\text{Tau} = .40$, $p < .01$). In other words, in order to produce positive changes in the vocational situations of the clients referred to the Pool, the staff responded with efforts most appropriate to individual clients.

The pretest measures which did succeed in predicting positive outcome were interesting. Being in receipt of an allowance from one's family (rewards for nonworking?) was associated with poor outcome ($p < .05$). Being willing to accept the minimum wage was associated with poor outcome ($p < .05$), almost certainly reflecting the near significant effect of level of last job. For reasons not apparent to this writer, pressures to seek employment at pretest — pressures from family, probation or other sources — were associated with a lack of success at sixth month follow-up. Finally, only one of the job-search skill measures derived from the Pool assessment interviews was related to outcome (Relevant Information For Job Hunt, $p < .01$).

In general, the lack of predictability of sixth month outcome by way of pretest factors increases confidence in the finding regarding the importance of the skill training in influencing outcome.

III. Exploring the Functional Significance of

Improved Vocational Status

A very important question regarding the role of the employment factor from the perspective of correctional policy and practice is whether changes in employment status are associated with variations in other attributes of clients and their situations and behaviour. Part I of this report suggested that an intensive employment-oriented effort was associated with positive vocational outcome but there was no evidence that the effort was associated with improved correctional outcomes or with any other changes beyond the client's increased awareness of the costs associated with working or studying. However, over 50% of the probationers in the study achieved an improved vocational status without the special services of the Pool. In this section of the report we increase the sensitivity of the test of the effects of improved vocational status by comparing all successes at six months with all those who failed to show improvement, regardless of the type of treatment they received.

In order to strengthen any conclusions reached regarding the importance of improved vocational status, the analyses of variance in changes in probationers' attitudes, situations and behaviour were conducted with stability of work history introduced as a control factor. In this way changes related to an improved vocational situation could be assessed independently of the changes which might be expected as a function of employment history. The change measures were simple difference scores (second testing scores minus first testing scores) and prescores were introduced as covariates. For purposes of this set of analyses, those who had no employment history were placed in the unstable history group.

Table 7 presents those changes in attitudes associated with changes in vocational situation which approached conventional levels of statistical significance ($p < .10$). First note those measures which are not represented in Table 7. There was no evidence that an improved vocational situation within a period of six months was associated with variations in the social supports for crime (affective ties to offenders or access to criminal resources), in self-esteem or anxiety, in the value placed upon education and employment, in those relatively enduring traits of psychopathy, neurotic acting-out, and inadequacy-immaturity, or on measures of trouble in school and the family which are basically socio-historical. There was evidence that movement out of the situation of the unemployed was associated with increasingly anticriminal attitudes, whether measured by attitudes toward the criminal justice system ($p < .01$), identification with offenders ($p < .01$), or the probationer's rated chances of "going straight" ($p < .05$) and increased chances of being arrested should violations occur ($p < .01$). Approaching conventional levels of significance ($p < .10$) were an increased sensitivity to conventional rules and procedures and a decreased awareness of limited opportunity.

As already noted, the unemployed probationers were tending to enter vocational situations which were less than highly rewarding. Movement into the legitimate opportunity structure was associated with an increased awareness of the costs associated with a straight life ($p < .01$), decreased appreciation for the rewards to be delivered by a straight life ($p < .05$) and even an increasing disregard for the feelings and expectations of others ($p < .05$). The latter may be a short-term accompaniment of the decreased identification with offenders.

In sum, movement into the legitimate opportunity structure was associated with increasingly anticriminal sentiments but also with an increased awareness for the costs associated with a "straight" life. Notable is the fact that the changes were most evident among those probationers who had unstable employment records.

Table 8 presents the associations found between correctional outcomes and employment history and improved vocational situations. No effects were evident on recidivism (officially-recorded or self-reported), but the PPOs were giving ratings of successful supervision to those probationers who improved their vocational situation. Since over a third of our subjects were still on probation by the sixth month, we may expect that differences on official indices of recidivism will emerge in the future. In fact, the PPOs Success Ratings have been shown to be powerful predictors of official recidivism (Rogers, forthcoming). We must note that in the short period of six months, approximately 20% of the originally unemployed probationers in the Pool sample had managed to have an official reconviction recorded. It took the 190 CaVIC probationers their full probation period to achieve such a level of recidivism (Andrews, Kiessling et al., 1979).

DISCUSSION

The present study focused on unemployed probationers, a sample of probationers of some special interest in correctional policy and practice. A special interest in this group is well-grounded in theory, research and practice. The results confirmed that variations in the employment record of the unemployed probationers were associated with variations in a number of other attributes and situations relevant to correctional concerns and employment-oriented services. Unemployed probationers with an unstable work history on average presented low levels of employment-relevant skills and academic/vocational preparation, and they presented a variety of serious adjustment problems, whether measured by PPO ratings or paper and pencil questionnaires. Most interesting was the fact that unemployed probationers with stable versus unstable work records neither differed to any great extent in their social ties to crime nor even in the way in which they viewed such conventional avenues to success as education and employment. Nor were the unemployed with unstable work records reporting particularly high levels of tension and anxiety or particularly low levels of self-esteem. Rather, those with an unstable work record seemed particularly attracted to the unique rewards associated with a criminal lifestyle and particularly insensitive to the potential costs of a criminal lifestyle. Those with unstable work records who had improved their vocational situation at the sixth month did not present shifts in how they viewed the rewards and costs associated with crime but did show an increased awareness of the costs associated with a straight life.

An important suggestion from the analyses of predictors of movement out of the unemployed situation was that programmed employment-oriented services may disrupt the expected relationship between the achievement of improved vocational status and an unstable work record and all that was shown to go along with an unstable record. In the Ottawa program, those with stable employment records were tending to get jobs while those with unstable records were tending to be placed in vocational programs. With such individualized treatment effects, instability of prior employment and its associated negatives were unrelated to improvement at six months.

While the cautions necessary when dealing with non-experimental data have been repeated in this report, it was the case that a major factor associated with movement out of the unemployment situation was participation in vocationally-relevant social skill training. A number of attempts to discount the effect of social skill training failed to do so. In the absence of social skill training, there was no evidence that the centralized Pool services were any more effective than the individual efforts of probationers and their officers. Vocationally-relevant social skill training was associated also with high levels of consumer satisfaction and Pool staff emphasized in their informal evaluations that it constituted an important assessment tool, with successful completion constituting concrete evidence of the client's positive motivation. Such evidence could then be used in staff advocacy efforts on behalf of clients. Important features of the evaluation of social skill training were the analyses of extra-training counselling practices and the indicators of

the short-term training-specific impact of services. Those analyses increased confidence in the conclusion that social skill training increases the probability of unemployed probationers improving their vocational situation.

The impact of social skill training was not evident on measures of correctional outcomes. In fact it appeared that the important predictors of recidivism (stability of employment and rewards associated with employment) were uninfluenced by social skill training. Future efforts must pay more attention to such concerns, perhaps involving closer contact between Pool staff and the employers and the vocational instructors of probationers along the lines of Walter and Mills (1980).

A problem for probation-based skill-training programs is the erratic attendance of probationers. This problem was evident during the evaluation period and continues to be a problem in the Ottawa program. We expect that some improvement might be expected through enforcement of the Employment Condition of Probation; it does seem that referral to a program and evidence of attendance at that program are objective indicators of efforts at seeking employment. Consideration might also be given to viewing participation as a "near-work" situation and providing honoraria for participation.

Regardless of training, the analyses of the apparent effects of an improved vocational situation revealed increasingly anticriminal sentiments but in combination with an increased awareness of the limited rewards and the extra costs associated with a conventional lifestyle. Most interesting, the professional officers recognized the potential of improved vocational status by assigning success ratings to those who did improve their situation over and above any tendency to assign success ratings on the basis of earlier employment history. Since both reductions in procriminal sentiments and PPO success ratings are known from other studies to be associated with subsequent variations in recidivism, there is the promise that over the longer-term, the shifts in vocational status found in this study will be followed by reduced recidivism.

Table 1

Sixth Month Outcomes By Participation In Social Skill Training

	No Training (n)		Training (n)		Statistics
<u>Vocational Outcomes</u>					
Prop. Employed or in Vocational Programs	.54	(84)	.76	(17)	Tau = .17*
Mean Vocational Reward Rating ^a	4.98	(57)	5.62	(16)	$F < 1.00$ (<u>ns</u>) (mse=8.71)
<u>Client Satisfaction with Pool Services</u>					
Prop. "gaining" from the Pool ^a	.39	(57)	.87	(16)	Tau = .40**
Mean Satisfaction Rating ^a	3.93	(57)	4.38	(16)	$F = 3.87^{**}$ (mse=.64)
<u>Correctional Outcomes</u>					
Prop. rated "success" by PPO's	.62	(80)	.48	(19)	$F = 1.30$ (<u>ns</u>) (mse=.25)
Prop. reconvicted (official records)	.21	(73)	.09	(19)	$F = 1.29$ (<u>ns</u>) (mse=.15)
Mean # criminal acts (self-reported)	7.79	(81)	8.75	(16)	$F < 1.00$ (<u>ns</u>) (mse=88.06)

^a Data available on Pool subjects only. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Note: The correctional outcome measures were tested in an analysis of variance format with age (18 years and under versus 19 years and over) as an additional factor. The self-reported criminal activity measure was re-computed including only property offences with no difference in conclusions.

Table 2

The Association Between Social Skill Training and Vocational
Outcome With and Without Statistical Controls for Pretest Factors

Pretested Control Factors	Without Controls (Eta)	With Controls (Beta)
Age	.22	.23
Sex	.22	.22
Last Grade Completed	.22	.25
Any Previous Convictions	.29	.29
Ever Incarcerated	.29	.30
Prior Criminal Activity (Self-Reported)	.21	.22
Stability of Work History	.22	.20
Reasons Left Last Job	.28	.29
Employment Condition of Probation	.21	.20
On Welfare	.21	.28
Awareness of Limited Opportunity	.22	.22
# of Pressures to Work	.20	.20
Willing to Work for Minimum Wage	.22	.22
Parental Pressure	.20	.23

Note: Relative to the nonparticipants, the participants in skill training were tending to be younger, less well-educated, scored higher on Awareness of Limited Opportunity, included a greater proportion of persons with a previous period of incarceration, were more likely to have been fired from a previous job, but were less likely to have employment as a Condition of Probation. Other control variables explored, with no deterioration evident in the effect of skill training, were Value of Education, Value of Employment, Tolerance for Law Violations, Socialization, Ties to Offenders, Job Search Skills and number of serious problems identified by PPOs. The Eta values vary from pretest factor to pretest factor because of missing values and because, for some analyses, additional checks on the stability of the conclusions incorporated a three level treatment factor (no Pool services - some Pool services - social skill training).

Table 3

Some Personal History and Current Situational-Motivational Factors Which Related
to Stability of Prior Employment and/or to Positive Vocational
Outcomes at Sixth Month Follow-up

		Prop. With a Stable Work History		Prop. With Positive Vocational Outcome	
		(n)	Tau	(n)	Tau
<u>Sex:</u>	Male	.50 (146)		.61 (64)	
	Female	.29 (17)	.13*	.67 (9)	-.04
<u>Level of Last Job</u>					
Sales thru Professional		.68 (19)		.82 (11)	
Lower level		.45 (140)	.13*	.59 (59)	.17
<u>Days on Last Job</u>					
More than 1 Month		.55 (100)		.71 (34)	
1 Month or less		.29 (51)	.24**	.59 (37)	.12
<u>Strengths?:</u>	Yes	.60 (67)		.66 (35)	
	No	.39 (92)	.20**	.59 (37)	.06
<u>Liabilities?:</u>	Yes	.30 (69)		.59 (27)	
	No	.61 (90)	-.30**	.64 (45)	-.05
<u>Pressures to Work</u>					
From Family:	Yes	.44 (36)		.37 (19)	
	No	.49 (126)	-.04	.70 (54)	-.30**
Probation Order:	Yes	.44 (38)		.45 (20)	
	No	.49 (124)	-.04	.68 (53)	-.21*
Any Pressure:	Yes	.53 (57)		.43 (46)	
	No	.42 (105)	.07	.70 (27)	-.24*
<u>Accept Minimum Wage?:</u>					
Yes		.47 (119)		.57 (61)	
No		.50 (36)	-.02	.89 (9)	-.22*
<u>Current Sources of Income:</u>					
Family:	Yes	.41 (29)		.42 (19)	
	No	.49 (131)	-.06	.68 (54)	-.24*
UIC:	Yes	.71 (17)		.86 (7)	
	No	.45 (143)	.16*	.60 (65)	.16
Welfare:	Yes	.37 (46)		.78 (18)	
	No	.51 (114)	-.13*	.57 (54)	.18

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Note: A number of other dichotomous variables were formed from information on the PPO Referral Form and the Volunteer Intake Forms but those not tested above did not relate reliably to either employment history or positive outcome at the sixth month: Marital Status (83% unmarried); Predominant Language (67% English); Father's Work History (90% rated stable); Length of Sentence (60% over 12 months); Juvenile Record (15% yes); Prior Criminal Convictions as Adult (48% first offenders); Current Offence (66% property); Special Considerations noted by PPO (77%); Financial Pressure to Work (33% yes); Reason Left Last Job (55% fired or quit); Drug Use a Problem (23% yes); Alcohol a Problem (23% yes).

Table 4

Additional Personal and Situational-Motivational Factors Which Related to
Stability of Prior Employment and/or to Positive Vocational
Outcomes at Sixth Month Follow-up: Means and SD's

	Employment History		<u>F</u>	6th Month Outcome		
	Unstable	Stable		No Change	Improved	<u>F</u>
Last Grade Completed	9.23 (1.49)	9.80 (1.78)	4.87*	9.39 (1.40)	9.80 (1.45)	1.39
Vocational Rewards Rating, Last Job	4.82 (2.30)	6.49 (2.14)	22.62**	6.21 (2.17)	5.95 (2.16)	<1.00
# Very Serious Problems (PPQs' Ratings)	4.09 (2.55)	2.43 (2.16)	9.33**	3.44 (2.62)	3.00 (2.88)	<1.00
Job Skill Knowledge	3.30 (1.39)	4.18 (1.34)	16.06**	5.15 (2.69)	5.44 (2.44)	<1.00
Presentation of Self	10.80 (2.45)	11.90 (2.62)	7.12**	10.96 (2.15)	11.67 (2.72)	1.35
# of Types of Info. Taken on Job Hunt	3.25 (3.10)	4.31 (3.20)	4.61*	3.23 (2.96)	4.97 (3.42)	3.93**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Note: Prescores on the Job Situations Inventory were unrelated to Employment History and Sixth Month Outcome.

Table 5

Pretested Attitudes and Personality in Relation to Stability of Employment History

	Unstable			Stable			
	Mean	SD	(n)	Mean	SD	(n)	F
<u>Criminal Sentiments</u>							
Law, Courts, Police	80.22	14.28	(51)	88.68	11.66	(44)	9.81**
Tolerance for Law Violations	27.46	6.79	(50)	24.89	5.74	(44)	3.88*
Identification With Criminal Others	17.00	3.46	(50)	16.59	4.01	(44)	<1.00
<u>Conventional Success Orientation</u>							
Value of Education	62.04	8.79	(51)	64.73	8.22	(44)	2.34
Value of Employment	62.02	7.27	(49)	64.41	6.46	(44)	2.78
<u>Conventional Sensitivities</u>							
to Rules: Socialization	23.48	5.79	(49)	26.40	6.62	(45)	5.20*
to Others: Empathy	30.29	4.24	(45)	33.13	6.33	(36)	5.77*
<u>Sense of Personal/Social Competence and Power</u>							
Awareness of Limited Opportunity	21.92	4.22	(50)	20.16	4.05	(44)	4.24*
Self-Esteem	145.08	16.06	(50)	151.14	17.65	(44)	3.03
Anxiety	9.30	4.47	(45)	8.54	3.76	(36)	<1.00
<u>Personality Dimensions of Criminality</u>							
Psychopathy, Aggressive	8.95	4.64	(45)	6.57	3.69	(36)	6.34**
Neuroticism, Acting Out	16.01	4.89		14.64	5.11		3.10
Inadequacy-Immaturity	6.06	1.48		5.72	1.37		1.14
Scholastic Maladjustment	6.51	1.83		5.62	2.32		3.67
Family Dissension	5.42	2.79		4.27	3.29		2.86

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 6

Pretested Orientation Toward the Rewards and Costs Associated with Criminal
versus Conventional Lifestyles By Stability of Prior Employment

	Unstable (n=50)		Stable (n=44)		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F
<u>"Happy" With Potential Rewards</u>					
Straight	.79	.19	.77	.25	< 1.00
Criminal	.44	.31	.33	.31	3.03 (.08)
<u>"Chances" of Rewards</u>					
Straight	.67	.24	.63	.30	< 1.00
Criminal	.46	.30	.34	.29	3.65*
<u>"Unhappy" With Costs</u>					
Straight	.42	.26	.46	.26	< 1.00
Criminal	.76	.27	.87	.22	4.85*
<u>"Chances" of Costs</u>					
Straight	.54	.20	.55	.26	< 1.00
Criminal	.63	.26	.68	.32	< 1.00
"Chances" of "Going Straight"	.77	.20	.82	.20	1.33
"Chances" of Arrest	.55	.27	.57	.29	< 1.00
"Chances" of Conviction	.72	.21	.73	.28	< 1.00
"Chances" of a Prison Sentence	.73	.22	.72	.29	< 1.00

* $p < .05$

Table 7

Mean Changes in Attitudes and Situations By Vocational
Status at Six Months ($p < .10$)

	No Change (n=38)	Improved (n=52)	Beta
<u>Criminal Sentiments</u>			
Law, Courts, Police	-2.38	4.11	.24**
Identification With Criminal Others ^a	1.09	- .92	.30**
<u>Sense of Personal/Social Power</u>			
Awareness of Limited Opportunity	- .41	-1.65	.13
<u>Conventional Sensitivities</u>			
to Rules: Socialization	- .29	.89	.11
to Others: Empathy ^a	2.01	- .69	.29*
<u>Rated Rewards/Costs</u>			
Rewards, Straight	.06	- .02	.15*
Costs, Straight ^a	- .10	.08	.23**
<u>Chances</u>			
of Going Straight	.01	.08	.15*
of Arrest	- .04	.10	.23**

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

^a The effect of improved vocational status was most evident among those with an unstable work record.

Note: Beta is a measure of the association between vocational status and change scores with prescores and employment history controlled. The p values were derived from F tests in analyses of variance.

Table 8

Correctional Outcomes By Improved Vocational Status
and Employment History

	<u>History</u>			<u>Vocational Status at 6 Months</u>		
	Unstable (n=55)	Stable (n=24)	<u>Beta</u>	Unchanged (n=35)	Improved (n=44)	<u>Beta</u>
Success Rating (by PPOs)	.60	.77	.17	.54	.74	.22*
Prop. Reconvicted (official)	.20	.16	.05	.17	.20	.05
Mean # Criminal Acts (self-reported)	7.46	8.17	.04	8.07	7.41	.04

* $p < .05$

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